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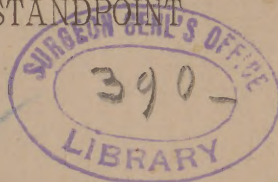
THE FUTURE  
OF THE  
COLORED RACE IN THE UNITED STATES

FROM AN

*presented by the author -*

ETHNIC AND MEDICAL STANDPOINT

BY



EUGENE R. CORSON, B. S., M. D.  
SAVANNAH, GA.

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A Lecture delivered before the Georgia Historical Society, June 6, 1887.

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## THE FUTURE OF THE COLORED RACE IN THE UNITED STATES FROM AN ETHNIC AND MEDICAL STANDPOINT.\*

BY EUGENE R. CORSON, B. S., M. D., SAVANNAH, GA.

LIVING, as we do, practically in the "Black Belt," the future of the colored race is of vital importance to us and must interest us, especially as there has come a cry of warning from certain writers who see in the race a menace to the country in a future not far distant. Since many of the discussions of the question have shown a more or less strong political and sectional spirit let me state at the outset that I shall have nothing to do with its political or sectional bearings. If we are to get at the truth and are to solve this problem it must be from the teachings of ethnology, and biology, and the experiences of those who have studied the physical status of the race. Any political bias is apt to play sad havoc with the truth. Much that I wish to say and many details and statistics necessary to the support of my arguments have no right in a lecture of this kind, and I shall reserve them for another place. I have introduced as few figures as possible, allowing another to answer the argument from the census returns—an argument brought forward as all sufficient in the solution of the problem.

In February, 1883, there appeared in the *Popular Science Monthly*, an article by Professor E. W. Gilliam, entitled "The African in the United States." In 1884, Mr. Albion W. Tourgée, author of "A Fool's Errand," published a book entitled "An Appeal to Cæsar." These two essays treated the subject from the same standpoint. They both gave rise to much comment at the time, and with those who could see no other side to the question they appeared convincing, as both writers based their reasoning upon figures, and to many

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minds figures never lie, no matter how those figures may be arranged ; but in problems of this kind figures may prove to be very tricky if not dangerous, and when used by those who have their preconceived opinions they may be made to prove almost anything. As a practicing physician I have had many things brought home to me which are intimately connected with the question before us, and which, I think, disprove what these writers seem to regard as almost self-evident. I have called your attention to these two essays because they contain the only arguments, if arguments they can be called, which could be brought forward to prove their side of the question. I trust that before I close I may be able to show you that there is another view to take and one more in accord with our hopes for the bright future of our country and the higher civilization of our race.

And first, what is Professor Gilliam's thesis? and what are his arguments? His thesis is, first, that the blacks are so gaining on the whites that they will eventually outnumber them ; second, that the former are, and must continue to be, a distinct and alien people ; and third, that the upshot of this will be a repetition of the Israelites in Egypt. "This dark, swelling, muttering mass along the social horizon, gathering strength with education and ambition to rise, will grow increasingly restless and sullen under repression, until at length conscious, through numbers, of superior power, it will assert that power destructively, and bursting forth like an angry, furious cloud, avenge in tumult and disorder the social law broken against it."

He argues from the census of 1880 which, he states, gives upon the face of the returns a percentage of increase of 29.21 for the whites and 34.85 for the blacks and colored. Estimating foreign immigration as constituting 9 per cent of this increase he deducts this number to get the figures representing the native increase. For the blacks he deducts 5 per cent to allow for the errors in the ninth census. Then, taking it for granted that in the future the colored race will increase even more rapidly than in the past, he cancels this 5 per cent deduction making a normal rate of increase of 35 per cent. From this he further argues : "The white population, increasing at the rate of 20 per cent in ten years, or 2 per cent per annum, doubles itself every thirty-five years. The



blacks increasing at the rate of 35 per cent in ten years, or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum, doubles itself in twenty years." On this basis it does not require much mathematics to find the population in the United States a century hence, so here are his figures :

Whites in United States in 1880 (in round numbers).....	42,000,000
Whites in United States in 1985 (in round numbers).....	336,000,000
Northern Whites in 1880.....	30,000,000
Northern Whites in 1985.....	240,000,000
Southern Whites in 1880.....	12,000,000
Southern Whites in 1985.....	96,000,000
Blacks in Southern States in 1880.....	6,000,000
Blacks in Southern States in 1980.....	192,000,000

This is figuring with a vengeance. We may well tremble for the future of our country if these figures are even approximately true. Their menace, Professor Gilliam thinks, is intensified by the second factor in his argument, namely, the impossibility of fusion of whites and blacks.

Mr. Tourgée, in his "Appeal to Caesar," endorses in the main the conclusions of Professor Gilliam, and quotes at length from his article. His treatment of the subject, however, is somewhat different, and it may be worth our while to look at his arguments and the spirit in which they are set forth. He, too, is fond of the tenth census. He gives tables showing the number and percentage of each race resident in each of the Southern States in 1880; also in the States in which the proportion of colored inhabitants does not exceed the general average of the South, or by the action of natural causes cannot be expected to increase; also in the States in which the proportion of colored inhabitants exceeds the general average in the South; and also in those States in which the number of colored inhabitants exceeds the white population :

"Seven of the Southern States have an average of 16.9 per cent of colored inhabitants; eight have an average of 47.6 per cent, and three an average of 56.4 per cent."\*

He further confidently points to the following figures : In the United States the whites increased from 1790 to 1880, 1299 per cent. During the same period the colored race increased 769 per cent. In the so-called Slave States the whites increased from 1790 to 1880, 880 per cent, the colored

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\* "An Appeal to Cæsar," p. 115.

race for the same period showed a gain of 775 per cent. These figures show that in the United States the two races increased as *thirteen* to *nine*, while in the Southern States *nine* to *eight* shows the relative increase.\*

From tables showing the numerical increase and the per cent of gain of each race in each State of the "Border States" and the "Slave States" from 1790 he attempts to show that the increase of whites in the "Border States" has been greater than that of the colored during the same period, while in the "Old Slave States" the increase of the whites has been less than that of the colored. "While, therefore, the colored race has not in all the States kept pace with the white during the whole period since 1790, yet in this region which may be termed the 'Black Belt,' it has greatly outstripped the dominant race."† I quote his own words. And again "while in the 'Black Belt' the whites increased only *thirty-three* per cent, and the blacks *forty-three*."‡ From all of which figuring he unhesitatingly concludes that in the 'Black Belt' the whites are bound to decrease and the blacks to increase in relative numbers. And again he writes : "The census of 1880 reveals the unexpected and amazing fact that in a state of freedom the reproductive energy of the American negro not only exceeds that of the white race dwelling in the same locality, but exceeds his own ratio of numerical gain in a state of slavery."§

The chapter entitled "To-morrow in the Light of Yesterday" he closes with these words: "The tables which we have given showing the operation of the rate of increase in the colored race upon separate groups of Southern States indicate a still more startling fact; to wit, *that in the year 1900, or sixteen years hence, each of the States lying between Maryland and Texas will have a colored majority within its borders; and we shall have eight minor republics of the Union in which either the colored race will rule or a majority will be disfranchised!*"¶ He may well put an exclamation point after these words. Much of what follows in his book is taken up with arguments to show that the influences at work in the future will favor even more than in the past the increase of the blacks and the

\* Op. cit., p. 119.

† Op. cit., p. 123.

‡ Op. cit., p. 124.

§ Op. cit., p. 129.

¶ Op. cit., p. 135.



decrease of the whites. He attempts to show further from the census that the colored population of the "Slave States" will be strengthened by immigration of blacks from the Border States, and that the white population will be weakened by the migration of whites to the Northern and Western States. Mr. Tourgée arranges everything to suit himself. Throughout his book he regards the African as the equal of the Caucasian. He writes: "Whether the colored man is the equal, the inferior, or the superior of the white race in knowledge, capacity, or the power of self-direction, has not specifically revealed to me." On such a basis it is not worth while to argue the question with him. His book is written in a sensational way, it shows a good deal of political and sectional fervor, and is altogether the product of one who took an active part in the dark days of reconstruction and who did not make "bricks without straw."

The article of Professor Gilliam and Mr. Tourgée's "Appeal to Cæsar" called forth a reply by Mr. Henry Gannett in an article in the *Popular Science Monthly*, for June, 1885, entitled "Are We to Become Africanized?" In a short but pithy reply Mr. Gannett shows the weak points in the arguments of these writers, and refutes them by their own figures. I cannot do better than give his own words. In refutation of Professor Gilliam he writes:—

"An analysis of the author's curious method of deducing these results will, however, dispel this frightful vision of the future. The increase of white population between 1870 and 1880 was slightly less than ten millions. The number of immigrants during this period was a little in excess of two million eight hundred thousand. Subtracting the latter from the former, there is left a number which is 23 per cent of the population in 1870, not 20 per cent, as Prof. Gilliam has it. But what does this 20 or 23 per cent (it matters not which) represent? Certainly not the increase of native whites, as he interprets it. The census gives directly the numbers of native whites in 1870 and in 1880, and the proportional gain of this class during the decade was not less than 31 per cent. These are the figures he should have used in making his calculations.

"Now as to the increase of the colored element. Professor Gilliam at the outset, deducts from its rate of

increase 5 per cent, representing about a quarter of million persons, on account of the imperfections of the census of 1870. Concerning the omissions of this census little is known, except that they were generally distributed through the cotton States, were largely, if not mainly, of the colored element, and of that element, approximated nearer three fourths of a million than one fourth, and certainly exceeded half a million. Professor Gilliam's subsequent addition of 5 per cent 'as an obvious consideration points to the conclusion that the blacks will for the future develop in the South under conditions more and more favorable,' certainly is not warranted by the facts or the probabilities, and, as we are reasoning from what has been and is, and not from what may be, it looks very much like begging the whole question.

"Correcting Professor Gilliam's statements it appears that the ratios of gain during the past decade were, as nearly as can be known, as follows: For native whites, 31 per cent; for blacks, not above 25 per cent.

"But all such comparisons, based upon the results of the ninth census, are utterly worthless. No reliable conclusions regarding the increase of negroes can be drawn from a comparison in which these statistics enter. The extent of the omissions can be a matter, within certain wide limits, of conjecture only. The only comparisons which yield results of any value are those made between the statistics of the eighth and tenth censuses. That the former was, to a certain slight extent, incomplete, is doubtless true, especially in regard to the colored element, but the omissions were trifling as compared with those of the ninth census. A comparison between the results of the eighth and tenth censuses shows the advantage to be clearly in favor of the native whites, who increased 61 per cent in the twenty years, while the colored element increased but 48 per cent. This great increase of the native whites was effected in spite of the fact that the ranks of the adult males were depleted to the extent of over a million by the casualties of war, which the negroes scarcely felt."

In reply to Mr. Tourgée he writes:—

"In 'An Appeal to Cæsar,' by Judge Tourgée, the question of the future of the colored element is discussed from



a somewhat different point of view. Without committing himself as to the increase or decrease of the colored element in the country at large, in proportion to the whites, the author finds, upon a somewhat superficial study of the statistics bearing upon the question, that in the South Atlantic and Gulf States the negroes have increased decidedly in proportion to the whites, while in those States which he classes as Border States they have relatively decreased. This massing of the negroes in what may, for convenience, be denominated the cotton States, coupled with the steady sharpening of the line of separation between the two races—a line which, as the author claims, becomes more and more accentuated as the inferior race increases in numbers and advances in education—will lead to inevitable conflict between the two races. As the negro becomes numerically the stronger, and, through education, appreciates more fully his present position, he will commence a struggle for the mastery, and then the days of the Ku Klux will be eclipsed in blood and slaughter. Such is the condition to which these ill-fated States are hurrying. To ward off this impending evil Judge Tourgée urges upon the general government the work of educating the blacks. Such, in brief is the ‘Appeal to Cæsar.’ \* \* \* \*

“It may, in passing, be suggested that a careful revision of his figures will show many important arithmetical errors, which may modify very sensibly some of his conclusions. It is unnecessary to follow his methods of reasoning, as the truth regarding the questions at issue can be arrived at much more directly. The fact is, that the negro is not migrating southward. There is no massing of the colored people in the cotton States. In 1860 the colored element of these States formed 66 per cent of the colored element of the country. In 1880 it formed precisely the same proportion. Between 1860 and 1880 the colored element of the country increased 48 per cent. The same element of the cotton States increased, in this interval, in precisely the same proportion, neither more nor less. These figures are conclusive upon this point, and from them there is no appeal.

“But the fact remains that, in these cotton States, the colored element was in 1880, in comparison with the white



element, slightly stronger than it was twenty years before. This, however, is due not to a southward movement of the colored people, but to a decrease in the rate of increase of the whites of those States. While the increase of the native white population in the country at large between 1860 and 1880 was 61 per cent, that part of the same element resident in the cotton States increased but 39 per cent. This low rate of increase among the whites might seem to establish Judge Tourgée's position, though not in the way he states it, were it not for the fact that three-fourths of this increase took place during the decade between 1870 and 1880. The increase of whites in the South received a most effectual check during the four years of war, in which every male capable of bearing arms was in the field, and in which fully half a million laid down their lives. Since the war the white race has taken up a rate of increase equal to, if not greater than, that of the country at large, a greater rate than that of the colored people within its borders, and there is no apparent reason why they should not maintain it. It is not, then, a migration of the negroes southward which has caused their relative gain in these States, but it is the losses of the white race—losses which, however, are rapidly being repaired."

I have quoted at length from Mr. Gannett because I believe he has completely carried his point. Writers like Mr. Tourgée, however, will convince many who have neither the inclination nor the opportunity to look carefully into the subject. According to them the South is a *cul-de-sac*, whose one point of entrance and exit has become closed compelling its elements to fight out for themselves the struggle for supremacy. They base their deductions upon census returns extending over a few decades, with gaps which must be filled up by mere conjectures and guesses, and wholly ignore certain great laws of human progress, laws which the study of history extending over centuries has enabled us to formulate. They seem to think that they have proved their case if they can show by statistics the greater prolificness of the negro race. But in a solution of the problem before us the question will not be which is the more prolific, but which has the better fiber, the more highly developed brain, the finer adjusted nervous system; in other words, which is the

better able to maintain individual life, the better able to keep head and shoulders above the struggling crowd. Were it a question of prolificness simply man would have long ago given way to the animals and disappeared from the face of the earth; in fact he never would have been.

I think it must be admitted that the colored race is a more prolific one than the white, that is, in potential prolificness.

Study the race in its natural habitat with all the conditions favorable to the growth of the animal, and its prolificness will exceed that of the white race whose home is in the center of a civilization where every thing tends towards individuation and the development of the nervous system, conditions inimical to great prolificness. But if the savage outstrips the Caucasian in the number of offspring, the Caucasian outstrips the savage in the ability to maintain individual life. In the animal and vegetable worlds the greater this potential prolificness the greater the waste; in other words, wherever the factors inimical to the increase of the species are many, Nature,

"So careful of the type she seems,  
So careless of the single life,"

increases the potential prolificness to meet the odds against the mature development of the germ. The simpler the organism the simpler the genesis and the greater the prolificness; the higher the organization and the greater the differentiation, the more complex the genesis and the less the prolificness. But if the prolificness is small it is more than compensated for by the ability to maintain individual life. These are laws which Mr. Spencer has carefully elaborated in his "Principles of Biology." The cod's prolificness has been estimated at eight million eggs. I once took the trouble to estimate the number of eggs in the roe of a lamprey eel and found about two hundred and fifty thousand, and yet, comparatively speaking, how few of the ova of the cod or lamprey reach maturity. We find great prolificness at times among savages, and yet their undue increase is counteracted by their very natures and the many external influences at work. If not carried off by disease their constant wars and savage life effect the same result.

The vital question then is not How many offspring? but How many perfected and matured individuals? in other

words, *What is the ability to maintain life when started?*

And so when Professor Gilliam imagines he can see this terrific increase of the colored race in the future, and argues his point by attempting to find its rate of increase when freed from the agencies inimical to that increase, such as the constant stream of immigration of whites from the East, as well as a begging of the whole question by taking it for granted that its capacity for increase will be even greater in the future than in the past, he places himself in the position of one who might see a great danger to the country from the natural increase of any prolific animal when freed from the many elements inimical to an absolute freedom of reproduction. Taking figures representing the natural rate of increase of rats in a year, say, and carefully excluding the adverse influences of cats, terriers, traps, poison, and what not, it would not take long to give a thousand rats to every man, woman and child. No "Pied Piper of Hamelin," nor an army of Pipers could prevent the dire consequences of such an increase.

The African, *under favorable conditions*, will outstrip the Caucasian in prolificness, but we must assert most positively that the African in the United States does not live under the most favorable conditions. Transferred by a superior race from his natural home to a country settled by the sturdy Anglo-Saxon, a country which is receiving a constant and steady stream of immigration of the white race from the Old World, he has been thrown directly into "the struggle for existence," and with everything against him. Let us admit, for the sake of argument, that the colored race in the two decades from 1860 to 1880 showed a large increase over the whites, and let us further admit that there were no exceptional causes at work to repress the increase of the native whites, and still we most emphatically deny that the figures in these twenty years can be used to prove the condition of the two races one, two, or more centuries hence. In the history of civilization the rise and fall of nations are subject to many fluctuations. The great forces at work moulding a nation's destiny are often interrupted or temporarily modified by exceptional causes which spring up to stem the great tide or to throw it out of its course for a time.



But the result in the end will be the same; these great powers must accomplish their mission, must fulfil their destiny. History can show us more comprehensive laws and standards to judge from than the numerical increase of twenty years.

An interesting example in point comes to us from the Sandwich Islands. Up to the year 1830 there was every reason to believe that the Sandwich Islanders were steadily increasing. "Once they were a strong and robust people. In 1830, when the first census was taken—which was ten years after the American missionaries commenced their labors—the population was 130,000, but by the last census there were only about 40,000, one-third as many as fifty years ago. In the meantime religious institutions have been introduced, education has become general, and the family as an institution has been established. All the elements of a Christian civilization have been thoroughly established, but still the population has been steadily decreasing at the rate of about 1000 a year. How can this be explained? It cannot be from the want of food, nor a well-regulated society, nor change in climate, nor want of a good government; there have been no wars, no famine, and only two or three epidemics, which were quite limited. The cause of this loss of population cannot arise from any external condition or agents, but from some law growing out of and governing the physical system. It is well-known that certain diseases resulting from licentiousness and intemperance, have been brought by foreigners to these islands, causing a physical degeneracy in the people. So powerful and far-reaching are the effects of these diseases that neither the family, nor education, nor Christianity, can eradicate them. The law of propagation has been violated to such an extent that it threatens the extinction of that people."\*

Malthus and his followers threw a flood of light upon the laws governing population and the increase of nations. Still their investigations did not carry them further than deductions from the rate of increase in the past, and such factors as means of subsistence, and the conditions of society and government. It is to the school of Darwin, Wallace, and Spencer that we must turn for valuable teachings, and the elucidation

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\* "The Law of Human Increase," by Nathan Allen, M. D., LL. D., *The Popular Science Monthly*, November, 1882.

tion of laws which constitute all potent factors in the growth and development of humanity. They studied the subject from the standpoint of the naturalist. The great laws at work in the entire organic scale were found to apply to man. Expressions like "the struggle for existence" and "the survival of the fittest" epitomised the great processes which mould and differentiate man as well as the animals. Herbert Spencer in his voluminous studies in biology and sociology has not only laid down an elaborate schema for the development of this new science, but he has done much to fill in the outlines first broadly sketched. In 1852 he published a "New Theory of Population." In this he "maintained that an antagonism exists between individualism and reproduction; that matter in its lower forms, for instance, of vegetables, possesses a stronger power of increase than in all higher forms; that the capacity of reproduction in animals is in an inverse ratio to their individuation; that the ability to maintain individual life and that of multiplication vary in the same manner also, and that this ability is measured by the development of the nervous system."\* It was one of the first attempts to show that the laws governing the rate of human increase were based upon physiology; that the healthier the body and the more harmonious its functions the better adapted it is to carry out its normal rate of increase.

It is this thought, especially, which I desire to impress upon you as the pivotal point in my argument, namely, that the African, removed from his natural habitat and thrown into a civilization of which he is not the product, must suffer physically, a result which forbids any undue increase of the race, as well as the preservation of the race characteristics. It is from this standpoint alone, I think, that the future of the race can be predicted with any degree of certainty. A prophecy based upon the census returns for a few decades, and which ignores completely the laws of human increase taught us by the study of history and the recent developments in sociology and biology, must necessarily be faulty,

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\* Quoted by Nathan Allen in the *Popular Science Monthly*, for November, 1882. See further the *Westminster Review*, for 1852 and also "Principles of Biology," Vol. II., pp. 391-508.

if not wholly wrong. The two points in my argument, then, are these :

First, that the African race, *an inferior race*, transported by force from its natural habitat to a distant country, and thrown by emancipation, after a long period of slavery, into a struggle for existence with a superior race, can never gain an ascendancy, but must in time die out or become so merged into the dominant race as to finally lose its identity. And, second, that already there are evident signs that the physique of the race is degenerating, as shown by the rate of mortality as compared to the white race, and by the appearance of certain pathological conditions which point to an even higher rate of mortality in the future.

It would hardly seem necessary to dwell at any length upon the conditions which stamp the African race as one greatly inferior to our own. When writers like Mr. Tourgée ignore this fact, and not only ignore it but seem to put the two races on an equality, it is not necessary to discuss the question with him, but for the sake of our argument we shall indicate briefly the salient points of difference between the Caucasian and the African as taught us by ethnology and comparative anatomy.

The pure negro is the representative of a race whose natural habitat is the African mainland. Though spread over a large area it shows a greater uniformity in physique and moral type than is to be found in the other great divisions of mankind. To the ethnologist it marks a type the lowest in the scale of humanity.

A. H. Keane gives us the following points as indicating the low type and nearer approach in body to the quadrumana or anthropoid apes :

“(1) The abnormal length of the arm, which in the erect position sometimes reaches the knee-pan, and which on an average exceeds that of the Caucasian by about two inches ; (2) prognathism, or projection of the jaws (index number of facial angle about 70, as compared with the Caucasian, 82) ; (3) weight of brain, as indicating cranial capacity, 35 ounces (highest gorilla 20, average European 45) ; (4) full black eye with black iris and yellowish sclerotic coat, a very marked feature ; (5) short flat snub nose, deeply depressed at the base or frontal suture, broad at extremity, with dilated nostrils



and concave ridge; (6) thick protruding lips, plainly showing the inner red surface; (7) very large zygomatic arches—high and prominent cheek-bones; (8) exceedingly thick cranium, enabling the negro to butt with the head and resist blows which would inevitably break any ordinary European's skull; (9) correspondingly weak lower limbs, terminating in a broad flat foot with low instep, divergent and somewhat prehensile great toe, and heel projecting backwards ('lark heel'); (10) complexion deep brown or blackish, and in some cases even distinctly black, due not to any special pigment, as is often supposed, but merely to the greater abundance of the coloring matter in the Malpighian mucous membrane between the inner or true skin and the epidermis or scarf skin; (11) short black hair, eccentrically elliptical or almost flat in section, and distinctly woolly, not merely frizzly, as Richard supposed on insufficient evidence; (12) thick epidermis, cool, soft, and velvety to the touch, mostly hairless, \* \* \* \* \*; (13) frame of medium height, thrown somewhat out of the perpendicular by the shape of the pelvis, the spine, the backward projection of the head, and the whole anatomical structure; (14) the cranial sutures, which close much earlier in the negro than in other races." \*

These anatomical characteristics are well known to every careful observer; they mark a distinct race of mankind and show conclusively an inferior type. The natural habitat of the race is in itself indicative of its inferiority, for whatever Egypt may have been in the past, and history certainly points to a high order of civilization ages before the Christian era, Africa for centuries has been the home of the savage. It is the cranial and facial characteristics which have the direct bearing upon the points at issue. The prognathism, the facial angle, the weight of the brain, the thickness of the skull, and the early closure of the cranial sutures all point to a lower intellectuality and an inferior nervous system.

The negro infant starts apparently with a great advantage over the white child; it is more precocious in every way, and maturity comes sooner. But this rapid growth soon reaches the end of its tether, and at a time when the negro has attained its full growth, the white child is but beginning

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\* "Encyclopædia Britannica;" Article Negro.

to develop qualities which in time advance it to a point unattainable by its less fortunate rival. Even when educated up to a certain point by the efforts of, and association with, a higher race, the mind is in a condition of unstable equilibrium which reverts in time back to its original level when the civilizing influences have been withdrawn. Throughout the animal world whenever artificial conditions have been brought to bear to produce results different from those which nature attains by her slow methods, the new products when left to themselves fall back to their original starting points, or but little in advance of them. It will be like the stone of Sisyphus. In the two centuries and a half of association with the Caucasian the race in certain directions has been much benefited by the higher civilization. If these associations were to be suddenly and completely cut off, and the race were to be left to its own resources, its future would be a retrogression rather than an advance.

I am speaking now of course of the race without any admixture of white blood ; with it the problem becomes a different one ; the intellectual level rises, and the more this element enters into the combination the nearer the new product approaches the Caucasian. We may meet with the intellect of an Alexander Dumas, or Dumas, fils, though I think the product a rare one. It is in the large mixed-element that we find examples of those who have risen above the multitude of their race and have shown qualities which ally them closer to the superior race. To writers like Mr. Tourgée this factor of miscegenation does not enter at all into their calculations. They speak of whites and blacks as though it were a question of color only, with a sharp color line separating the two races, a mere difference in the amount of pigment in the Malpighian layer. One would think from their treatment of the subject that equal political rights and equality before the law meant equality moral, spiritual and intellectual. They lump together the entire colored population as a homogeneous mass to be measured by one standard. They bring forward examples of colored men who have attained considerable reputation, and have shown, perhaps, fine mental parts, to show the beneficial influences of education and civilization upon the African, and the possibilities of the race, and ignore the influence of the white

admixture, and the credit due thereto. It would be an interesting point to know the percentage of this mixed-element to the pure African. I am persuaded that it is much larger than generally believed. The census unfortunately has made no distinction in the enumeration. It is, however, a distinction which should be made, and any correct returns would point to many significant tendencies, and be a *point d'appui* for our argument. This mixed-element indicates the fusion and assimilation going on. That it bears the same social stigma as the darker color shows that the barrier between the races is a social but not a physiological one, for underneath this barrier miscegenation goes on through many channels. This new product is a large one though it is largely unstable. What I may have to say of its instability I must reserve for another place.\*

Miscegenation will go on in the future as it has gone on in the past. Its illegality will be no bar to it, though the process of fusion will be retarded. To my mind race prejudice will not be in the years to come what it has been or what it now is. Time alone, throwing the days of bondage further back into the past, will in itself modify and soften these feelings of race, especially when, by the gradual fusion, the color will become lighter and the mixed-element will exhibit qualities allying it more and more to the Caucasian. It will not be in our day of course, nor in the next generation: it may take centuries, but it will come.

And now let us take up the second factor in our argument, a factor which has grown out of the first.

A deterioration in physique may be looked upon as the natural result of the many influences at work arising from the transporting of the race to a foreign soil to be thrown into the struggle for existence against a superior race, a

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\* The question whether the mere mixing of the races in itself results in an unstable product is one which I have not been able to answer to my own satisfaction. My opinion is that this instability is largely the direct inheritance of a weakness and degeneracy of one or both parents, as naturally follows the laws of reproduction and inheritance. Still there seems to be a factor outside of this, a factor dependent upon miscegenation itself. The mixing of the different nationalities of the white race often appears to strengthen the new products, but the ethnic chasm which separates the Caucasian from the African is too wide for nature to bridge satisfactorily. The bridge is but temporary and gives way to the strain it must eventually bear. Whatever the true explanation may be, the fact remains that this mixed-element is an unstable one with a high rate of mortality.



struggle which can have no ultimate issue but defeat, and by defeat I mean an inability to maintain the distinctive characteristics of the race. The struggle will be a slow process of fusion by which the weak and unstable elements will disappear while that which has any permanency will become so blended with the dominant race as to lose its individuality. Of the stable and the unstable the latter is by far the greater; its instability can be measured by the physical degeneracy. Even to-day to call the colored race the African race is something of a misnomer because it has undergone many modifications. A change in language, in soil, and in climate, a change of surroundings and associations are potent influences to eventually destroy the original African traits. This struggle may, perhaps, be better described as a process of assimilation by which the elements ill-adapted to the growth of the dominant race are thrown off, while that which is assimilable becomes gradually absorbed into the main growth.

Let us glance a little more minutely into these factors of change and decay. The change of habitat alone, a change of soil and climate, has a certain influence. Man, like the animals and plants, bears the stamps of geographical areas. A race indigenous to a certain country acquires through many generations characteristics the formation of which can be traced to climatic and telluric causes. One of the most interesting departments of biology is the study of the geographical distribution of animals and plants; and man is no exception, for in him, too, we can trace the effects of the ground he treads and the air he breathes. And when man is removed from his home to a distant country, and is brought under different climatic, and telluric conditions, he feels the change in proportion as the new environment differs from the old. Nature at once goes to work to adapt the new-comer to his new surroundings. The greater the change the harder the process of adaptability and the greater the waste and the loss of life. The medical histories of wars in distant climes in which Europeans have figured show that the loss of life from a new environment has often equalled, if it has not exceeded, that from the casualties of war. The Esquimaux can as little live in the tropics as the Hottentot in the polar region.\*

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\*An interesting example among the lower animals, of the fatal influences of a change

Now while the change of the African to America has been more in longitude than in latitude it must still have an influence in modifying the race. The negro without any other modifying influences would be a different man five hundred years hence from the one just transported from his natural home.

But a factor much more potent is the struggle for existence, and not only a struggle within the race but a struggle outside with a superior race. There is no law in the physical world more relentless than this very struggle for existence and survival of the fittest. From the cradle to the grave it is one continuous fight with man and the elements. It is a struggle for mere living, a struggle for ease and comfort, a struggle against exposure, privation and disease; and in this struggle the weaker die and the stronger live. We may talk of universal brotherhood, but the stronger will rise and rule and the weaker will go to the wall. The denser the population the thicker the fight. It is in the great cities that we see this struggle at its fiercest—the poorer and weaker on one side, and the stronger and richer on the other. It is the difference between poverty, hunger and dirt, and ease and comfort and luxury, and a difference greater still, a difference in the sick list and in the death rate; for with poverty and close quarters, with dirt and exposure and crime, come sickness and death. The situation of the colored race is a peculiar one. After being carried off from their home to a distant land and held in bondage for years, they are suddenly set free and thrown upon their own resources. That they have even in a measure stemmed the tide is indeed to be wondered at. During slavery it must be conceded, I think, that so far as the merely physical man was concerned they were better off. Such bondage would be well physically for a large portion of the white race. They were out of the struggle for existence with their superiors; they were cared for like so many valuable animals; it was to the interests of their owners to do so; though worked hard they led regular lives; the dissipations and excesses which enter

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of habitat is seen in the monkeys brought to this country. They almost invariably die from consumption. I once examined the bodies of a number of monkeys from our menageries and zoölogical gardens, and in every case I found pulmonary tuberculosis in all its stages. The change from the pure air of the forest to the confined and vitiated air of our centers of population is fatal to them.

into the life of a free people they were withheld from ; when sick they had the best medical attention obtainable ; and all the information which I have been enabled to obtain has satisfied me that the race was a healthy one, even healthier in the main than the white.

But since the war and emancipation things have been reversed. Suddenly thrown upon their own resources their struggle began *in medias res* ; freedom gave loose reins to the animal ; the doors were opened wide to the vices and excesses of a material civilization ; their life became an irregular one ; these vices and excesses which like parasites have grown with the growth of our civilization became a part of their life, and these parasites in their new soil have shot down their roots deeper and have obtained a firmer foothold. This has been the history of the introduction of civilized vices into all uncivilized communities ; whiskey, good or bad, certainly disagreed with the poor American Indian, and to-day in India it is playing sad havoc with the multitude. The explanation is that, however small self-control over the appetites exists in the Caucasian it is practically wanting in the savage who drains his cup to the dregs. It is bad enough for the white man but it is worse for his inferior.

These evil influences are bearing their fruit, and bitter fruit it is, too, a fruit which has only become very evident in the last decade.

To-day the colored race as a race is not a healthy and robust one. Their vitality is in a condition of unstable equilibrium liable from any undue strain to give way. To the physician practicing in their midst this fact is constantly being brought home, and in many striking ways. Before the war consumption was rare among them ; to-day it has become very common and the mortuary statistics from our cities show that about two colored to one white die of this disease. The reports from some cities show an even greater mortality. The race has developed a highly scrofulous and tubercular constitution which is manifesting itself in many morbid conditions and tendencies. This is not the place to go into details in this matter and I shall reserve whatever I may have further to say for medical readers. When we remember that about one seventh of all deaths are due to con-



sumption and the tubercular diathesis, and when we remember that of all constitutions it is the consumptive and tubercular which gathers weight by heredity and shows its true force in the generations to come, the significance of these figures becomes very apparent.\*

\*I hope at some future time to show the evidence which the mortuary statistics give of the diseases most prevalent among the colored race as compared with the white. At present I have not been able to obtain sufficient material to enable me to give figures large enough and comprehensive enough to thoroughly represent the truth in this important question. All I can hope to do at present is to indicate briefly and in a general way the morbid tendencies, and the ways they have been brought about, as they have come to me in a general practice among a colored population numbering about nineteen thousand. So far as I can learn, my experience tallies with that of other physicians practicing in the same city. I believe that it fairly represents the experience of physicians practicing in other southern cities. A physician's experience as to the prevalence and intensity of certain diseases in a certain locality among a certain class may have but a local significance, due to the peculiar conditions of the place in which he practices. It is only when his experience tallies with that of physicians practicing elsewhere that it carries much weight in a question involving that class or race in its entirety. It is just here that the great value of the collective investigation of disease would be shown, and I would suggest that this question have the benefit of this pregnant method of research. It will be the only way to solve a problem which has so many bearings and is so far-reaching, and enable us to predict to our own satisfaction the future of an element of our population now numbering about seven million souls.

This great mortality among the colored being recognized, we naturally seek to find the avenues by which it is reached, and those conditions of life which lead up to them. To-day the laws of hygiene and public health have been so thoroughly studied, and our knowledge has been so much increased by many brilliant discoveries of quite recent date, that, given certain morbid states and tendencies, we are fairly well prepared to show the conditions of life which have produced them. The ill effects of overcrowding, of insufficient and impure air and food, of intemperance and licentiousness, are almost as well known outside the profession as within it, and most fortunately so.

The poor and laboring class in our cities always shows the highest death rate. The reasons of this are obvious. The greater exposure to the elements, poor and insufficient food and housing, the inability to obtain that care and comfort which money can buy, the greater tendency to intemperance and vice that goes with ignorance and poverty, all work towards one goal. And this applies to the colored race in our cities. The great bulk of them are poor and hard worked, the bulk of them are ignorant, and this poverty and ignorance opens the doors to many hardships and evils. There is much that can be said for the poor negro, he works hard and is fairly contented with his lot, more contented than the corresponding class among the whites. He is desirous of improving himself and bettering his condition, and he will stand much from those over him which the white man so situated would not stand. These are virtues which are to be commended, but they do not avail much in this world's struggle where brain and muscle are the motive powers. The negro is in many ways a child living on from day to day, from hand to mouth, with no thought of the morrow, and easily led by his impulses and desires even if they ultimately land him in the ditch. There is a considerable portion which constitutes a useful, intelligent, and law abiding part of the population. It is largely of the mixed element and of the lighter color. They show intelligence and industry in their work, and their homes give evidence of thrift and an appreciation of the amenities of life. This class is growing daily as the mixed element increases and the color becomes lighter. It is a most encouraging sign and one which softens many dark shadows in the picture. But as I have said before this element has a poor physique and its better

In no way can this physical degeneracy be better brought home to you than by a review and comparison of the mortality statistics of our principal southern cities. Of course

mode of living does not prevent a high rate of mortality. This in a measure proves to my mind that miscegenation in itself results in an unstable product.

Let us examine somewhat in detail the pathological relief-chart, so to speak, as it comes before us daily.

As a starting point our statistics show a prevalence of pulmonary consumption about double that of the whites. This is of the greatest significance and is the direct outcome of the scrofulous habit now generally recognized as the most prominent morbid condition of the race. The ways by which it has been brought about I have already hinted at. Struma, though largely the result of inheritance, is the product of a malnutrition brought about by bad air, bad and insufficient food, and a general disregard of those laws which make up the physiological life. It is shown by a tendency to glandular swellings, to catarrhal inflammations, and the breaking down of tissues into caseous products; in short the development of tubercles whose growth is now generally recognized as co-existent with the life and growth of the *bacillus tuberculosis*. All excesses and irregularities which sap the vitality favor this goal to which the vital forces are hurried. It can easily be seen then how a race, transported from its natural habitat and thrown into a struggle which must drive it to the wall, and must reduce it to the poor and laboring class, with all the disadvantages and dangers of poverty and ignorance, naturally drifts towards this depraved constitution with all its evil consequences.

To the physician it is shown in many ways. Every day he has brought to his notice enlarged and inflamed cervical glands from ordinary colds; acute and chronic catarrhs of the mucous passages of the head and throat from the same cause; the characteristic strumous ophthalmia and conjunctivitis; otorrhæas, nasal catarrhs, follicular laryngitis and tonsillitis come under this head; enlarged inguinal glands from the slightest irritation, remaining long indurated or rapidly breaking down into abscesses. Inguinal swellings are produced from the slightest urethral and vaginal irritations, and urethral and vaginal catarrhs, simple and specific, are as readily induced. The catarrhal complications and sequelæ of measles are very common as shown to me by three very severe epidemics of the disease which proved very fatal to the colored children. Coming to diseases of the chest this diathesis is strongly brought out. The various forms of bronchitis and phthisis proper can be studied but too easily. The whole gamut of pulmonary diseases is run over daily up to its highest note in acute tuberculosis, pulmonary and general, whose high temperature and rapid wasting drive one to therapeutic nihilism and despair. It can be seen in the frequency of intestinal disorders of all kinds. We see it among infants and young children in the tendency to cerebral congestions and inflammations and convulsions, and the various forms of intestinal troubles. We see it, I think, in a poor resistive power and a lack of proper reaction to therapeutic measures. Troubles usually regarded as slight, or which respond readily to drugs, are apt to resist treatment or to be the beginnings of graver disorders.

The very great mortality among colored infants and young children has an important bearing, and has most to do with the high rate of mortality. Aside from the inherited strumous diathesis, the chief cause of this mortality is careless and improper feeding. The mother has a poor opinion of her milk as a rule, and the breast is soon discarded for dirty feeding-bottles and what she considers better and stronger food. You will frequently see a colored child, the canines hardly through the gums, sitting up at the table taking its regular dinner with the older members of the family, a dinner consisting of rice, greens, bacon, and pot liquor. This child may stand this better than the white child, but for all that it pays dearly for its smartness. The various compounds and articles which find their way into this little stomach far exceed in complexity the combinations of an *olla podrida* or a *bouillabaisse*. As results of all this we are called to convulsions, cholera infantum, enterocolitis, and every variety of diarrhœa. And in the treatment of all these troubles it is almost

it must be remembered that these figures do not hold good for the large element in the country. For both races the mortality falls outside the centres of population. But re-

impossible to impress upon the mother the absolute necessity of a carefully regulated diet. That good milk can keep a child from starving is a fact difficult for her to realize. The potent factor of a close and vitiated air, which holds with such force in the tenement districts of our northern cities, can be largely counted out. With us here the colored live principally in cabins and small houses which have plenty of air and ventilation. It is the extremes of heat and cold from which they suffer. In a severe winter their means of heating are so poor that they suffer intensely from the cold, while in the intense heat of summer they succumb to the direct rays of the sun. I must constantly warn mothers of this danger. While sun-stroke, a result of a hot vitiated air, is rare among us, acute high fevers are common from exposure to the sun, and these fevers are dangerous from the tendency to cerebral congestion and inflammation.

The great susceptibility of the negro to tetanus is well known, and *trismus nascentium* is of frequent occurrence as compared to the whites. I have never seen a case recover. I had hoped at one time that Sim's theory and postural treatment would offer something better, but I have been disappointed. Inherited syphilis is a factor of some importance, and results from treatment are very unpromising; almost all die. Many children are lost from ignorant and officious midwives, a subject I shall refer to further on.

The question of venereal disease is an interesting one. The scrofulous habit and bad living are the best friends of syphilis. In the negro they render both syphilis and gonorrhoea serious troubles. The impossibility often of a proper and prolonged course of treatment is a drawback, one, however, which applies to a large class among the whites. Gonorrhoea is frequently followed by stricture and cystic troubles. The most aggravated cases in my practice have been among the colored. The secondary and tertiary symptoms of syphilis are severe and prolonged; miscarriages frequently result, and the inherited disease is very fatal.

A healthy race presupposes a healthy and robust womanhood. As to diseases of the uterus and its annexa my experience is that they are very common. They can be traced to the naturally poor physique and to many irregularities and excesses. The results of miscarriage, accidental and induced, and the wretched hygiene of parturition explain largely this degeneracy, a rich field for gynecological research. The great frequency of uterine fibroid may be mentioned as a race characteristic. Though rarely fatal in themselves I have found them as a serious complication in labor and as a cause of sterility.

By far the largest portion of the colored employ midwives, only calling in a physician when there is dystocia. These midwives are a thoroughly ignorant and officious set who, by their meddlesomeness, often change a natural presentation into an abnormal one, and endanger the life of both mother and child by their ignorance and interference. It is not an uncommon thing to come upon a midwife vigorously rubbing the abdomen of the poor puerpera in view of helping the pains, and producing a more or less complete version of the child. The poor woman is put into every possible position. The room is close and hot and full of the emanations of a number of women from the neighbourhood who have come in to witness an event which has always the interest of a novelty. When the child is born and the cord cut its placental end is tied to the mother's thigh "to prevent the after-birth slipping up into the belly." The babe is turned over to the granny who dresses the cord with burnt rags or some other abomination. A binder is put on the mother which simply compresses tightly the waist without any even and firm pressure over the abdomen. The granny may put a hatchet under the mattress "to cut the after pains," or a tub of water under the bed "to bring on sweating and prevent fever." These measures are harmless in themselves of course, and I only mention them to show the ignorance of these women. Both babe and mother rarely escape the dose of oil. This



member that the country feeds the cities, and that their losses are being constantly made good by steady streams of immigration.

babe usually begins life with a "sugar-tit" or "butter-tit," with any number of teats of various complexity. Hardly later than five days, often much sooner, the mother is up and about her work. I do not mean to say that they do not stand this rough handling better than those brought up with more care, but I do say that I see many disastrous results from it. Distocia in all its forms is not uncommon, largely among the mixed-element, however. In my case-book I have examples of almost every form of mal-presentation and difficult labor. Puerperal eclampsia and albuminuria stand out prominently, and I find it much more fatal among the colored than among the whites. The evils following a difficult labor, and one carelessly and ignorantly handled are constantly coming before the physician; witness subinvolution, lacerated cervix and perineum, and the various forms of pelvic trouble. These are significant facts and point to but one conclusion.

The negro once could boast of his insusceptibility to malaria and live secure in regions fatal to the white man. But this exemption has been growing less and less complete, and to-day the colored mortality from malarial and miasmatic diseases is very much greater than it once was. The reasons for this are various. In the first place a large part of this mortality is from the mixed-element which is more susceptible than the pure negro by virtue of the white admixture. This is self-evident. In the second place a less resistive power naturally follows a less healthy physique. In the third place, in the so-called malarial and miasmatic diseases an enteric factor is apt at times to be an important element, an element to which the colored are very susceptible, and which is very fatal to them. This has been plainly shown by statistics collected during the war among the colored troops.

The etiology of our prevalent fevers included under the terms malarial and miasmatic is largely a jumble of mere theories and opinions. There are certain ones which seem to be purely malarial, as we understand the term; others seem to be larval forms, masked by other elements vaguely called climatic; and others where a distinct enteric or typhoid character is shown. We call them typho-malarial, a convenient term, but one which prompts to laziness in our efforts to more closely differentiate. All these fevers from the simple continued fever up to the severer forms of the malarial remittent, of the bilious and hemorrhagic types, are constantly met with among the colored. My experience has been that the simple continued fevers, without any complications, run a protracted course and are hard to break, while the severer malarial remittents and the typho-malarial are very fatal. Granted, that the pure negro bears, comparatively speaking, a charmed life in rice fields and uncultivated districts very fatal to the white man, his much greater exposure swells his death list, and this is the important point. Typhoid fever proper is a rare disease with us, comparatively speaking, and when it occurs generally assumes a larval form, masked and modified in one way or another by our climatic influences. To these fevers the negro rapidly succumbs.

From our records, the twenty-two years from 1854 to 1876 increased the colored susceptibility to yellow fever, due to the increasing mixed element and the poorer physique. Thus the disparity between the susceptibilities of the two races, as regards our southern fevers, is becoming less and less marked; the larger mixed element, the greater exposure, and the lowered vitality, will destroy even this sole advantage over the whites of which the negro once could boast.

The emptive fevers go hard with the colored. I have seen three epidemics of measles which were very severe and which carried off many children. Even when the disease proper was overcome the severe sequelæ caused death. My experience with scarlet fever is too limited to be of any value as the disease is an uncommon one here. In the years 1865, 1866, 1867, 1875, 1876, and 1877, small-pox prevailed in Savannah, and the death rate among the colored was very high; the disease was invariably severe and left the patient deeply pitted.

In the years 1866, 1867, and 1868, Asiatic cholera was brought to Savannah from

The data which have been collected from our own city are especially instructive and interesting. Through the courtesy of our Health Officer, Dr. J. T. McFarland, I have before me a most interesting table, giving the consolidated mortuary record of Savannah from 1854 to 1886 inclusive. From 1854 to 1870, and from 1870 to 1879, there were no reliable census returns. To get the annual ratio of deaths per 1000 of population for the whites and colored for these intervening years he has estimated the increase of population *pro rata* yearly. From 1854 to 1870 the yearly increase has been estimated for the whites as 154, and for the blacks 259, and from 1870 to 1878 inclusive the yearly gain for the whites has been 284, and for the colored 216. This computation,

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New York by United States troops. In these three years there were 356 deaths, 246 among the colored and 110 among the whites. The death rate per 1000 for these three years was 20 for the colored and 7.5 for the whites, the disease being nearly three times more fatal to the former.

A word or two as to alcoholism whose pernicious effects are recognized the world over with all nations and all races. A careful census of Savannah taken in 1886 gave the population as 45,492. There are 229 licenses issued to retail liquor-dealers. This gives a dram-shop to about every 200 inhabitants, including men, women, and children. Those who keep these shops show every indication of prosperity; many own their own houses and enjoy the luxury of a horse and carriage. Some of these shops are for whites alone, most of them are largely, if not entirely, supported by the colored. Most of the liquor sold is villainous stuff and too cheap to contain anything better than methyl alcohol.

I have never seen a case of *delirium tremens* in the negro. I think this is easily explained. We usually find *delirium tremens* in those of tough fibre who can stand that heavy and prolonged drinking necessary to develop the disease. The negro cannot stand this heavy and prolonged drinking. He is soon done for and becomes so overcome by the drug that he must let up for a while; or he becomes disorderly and commits some violence which sends him to the barracks and the chain-gang where his stomach has rest and where he is enabled to pick up again. The evil effects of alcohol then are seen in acts of violence in the inflammatory troubles which follow exposure while under the influence of the drug, and those congestions and inflammations of the thoracic and abdominal viscera which can be traced directly to alcohol in all its forms.

And a word as to a habit of drugging common among the colored which has its evil influences. They are constantly taking medicines, especially purgatives and opiates. Without having any figures to bear me out, I believe that more patent medicines are sold among them than among any other class. They are firm believers in pills and draughts and nostrums of all kinds whose proprietors reap a rich harvest, and let any travelling mountebank come among them and he can sell out rapidly his entire stock of pills, liverpads, or what-not. I have seen many evil effects of this drugging.

This question of physical degeneracy is a very comprehensive one and I have only outlined it. Upon it rests the solution of the entire problem before us. By it alone can we prophesy the future of the race and it is only the physician really who is in a position to see fully the many points in the case and their various issues. In his every day work he gains an insight into conditions and tendencies not to be obtained in any other way. He may thus reach in a comparatively short time justifiable conclusions which demand a much longer time when based upon figures alone.

as the doctor says, "although not numerically correct, is nearly enough so to give valuable statistical information."

*Consolidated Mortuary Record of Savannah, Ga., from 1854 to 1899 Inclusive.*

From 1854 to 1870, and from 1870 to 1879, no reliable census is attainable; consequently I have estimated the increase of population *pro rata* yearly during said interims, and have computed the annual ratio of deaths per 1,000 of population upon this status. Although not numerically correct, the estimates are nearly enough so to give valuable statistical information.

This table proves conclusively that prior to the freedom of the African race in the United States their death ratio was smaller than that of the white race.

Year.	Population.		Number of Deaths.		Ratio per 1,000 of Population.	
	Whites.	Blacks.	Whites.	Blacks.	Whites.	Blacks.
*1854.....	12,468	8,961	1,221	308	97.9	34.3
1855.....	Population.—Whites increased yearly upon an estimated gain of one hundred and fifty-four (154).	Population.—Blacks increased yearly upon an estimated gain of two hundred and sixty-nine (269).	433	292	34.8	31.6
1856.....			466	297	35.4	31.2
1857.....			376	264	29.0	27.0
*1858.....			592	262	45.2	26.1
1859.....			430	278	32.4	26.5
1860.....			474	282	35.3	26.7
*1861.....			563	269	41.5	24.8
1862.....			555	372	40.4	33.5
1863.....			459	339	33.7	34.2
*1864.....			747	446	53.3	38.3
†*1865.....	Population.—Whites increased yearly upon an estimated gain of one hundred and fifty-four (154).	Population.—Blacks increased yearly upon an estimated gain of two hundred and sixty-nine (269).	1,202	819	81.8	65.9
†1866.....			530	512	37.0	75.0
†1867.....			476	594	32.8	47.8
†1868.....			498	581	34.0	45.8
*1869.....			423	420	28.6	33.1

Year.	Population.		Number of Deaths.		Ratio per 1,000 of Population.	
	Whites.	Blacks.	Whites.	Blacks.	Whites.	Blacks.
1870.....	14,938	13,217	450	576	30.1	43.5
1871.....	Population.—Whites increased yearly upon an estimated gain of two hundred and eighty-four (284).	Population.—Blacks increased yearly upon an estimated gain of two hundred and sixteen (216).	526	606	34.4	45.1
1872.....			519	636	33.4	46.6
1873.....			558	769	34.0	56.1
1874.....			394	642	24.5	45.5
†1875.....			394	602	24.0	42.7
†1876.....			1,265	954	76.0	67.6
†1877.....			376	623	22.1	42.2
1878.....			362	626	21.0	41.8
1879.....			416	686	23.7	45.1
1880.....	18,229	15,019	462	885	25.3	58.8
1881.....	19,114	15,765	557	903	29.1	57.2
1882.....	20,514	16,819	375	740	18.2	43.9
1883.....	23,829	16,652	488	659	20.4	39.5
1884.....	25,362	19,150	469	703	17.9	36.7
1885.....	25,720	19,111	333	659	13.7	35.4
1886.....	26,675	19,111	458	953	17.1	49.8

\*Yellow Fever 1854—Deaths, whites 625, blacks 10. \*1858—Deaths, whites 112, blacks 2. \*1861—Deaths, whites 4. \*1864—Deaths, whites 14. \*1865—Deaths, whites 1. \*1868—Deaths, whites 1. \*1869—Deaths, whites, 1. \*1876—Deaths, whites 771, blacks 125. \*1877—Deaths, whites 4. †Small pox introduced by United States troops 1865, 1866, 1867. †1875, 1876, 1877, †1882—One case. †1884—Two cases. †1885—One case. No accurate account can be given as to deaths; it was very heavy in 1865 and 1866, †Cholera brought from New



York by United States troops. 1866—Deaths, whites 85, blacks 211. 1867—Deaths, whites 12, blacks 17. 1868—Deaths whites 13, blacks 18.

I am indebted to compilation of our honored townsman, Dr. W. Duncan, for tabular statement of deaths from 1855 to 1869 inclusive.

J. T. McFARLAND, M. D., Health Officer.

In this table we find that from 1854 to 1863 more whites died proportionately than colored. Then from 1864 to 1876 the white mortality was still in excess of the colored. The year 1866, however, was the turning point, for with the exception of 1876, the year of the yellow fever, the colored have greatly exceeded the whites in their mortality. Another interesting feature shown us is the increased susceptibility of the colored to yellow fever since emancipation. For in 1854 there were 625 deaths among the whites and only 10 deaths among the colored, while in 1876 there were 771 death among the whites and 125 deaths among the colored. In other words, in 1854 about 5 per cent of whites died of yellow fever and only  $\frac{1}{5}$  of one per cent of colored, while in 1876 about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of whites died, and very nearly one per cent of colored. Of course these figures are only approximately correct, as no account has been taken of the exodus from the city at these times of peril.

From 1880 the returns show that twice as many colored as whites die in proportion to the population. Some years show an even greater mortality. In 1880, in the ratio per 1000 of population, the figures stand 25.3 for the whites and 58.8 for the colored; in 1882, 18.2 for the whites, and 43.9 for the colored; in 1884, 17.9 for the whites, and 36.7 for the colored; in 1885, 13.7 for the whites, and 35.4 for the colored; in 1886, 17.1 for the whites and 49.8 for the colored. This table shows conclusively, for Savannah at least, that prior to emancipation the death rate of the colored was less than that of the whites, but that since their freedom their mortality has greatly exceeded the whites'. It would be indeed valuable for our argument could we get similarly prepared tables from other parts of the country.

Looking to the causes of deaths in our city, we find that though the African shows less susceptibility to malarial and miasmatic influences, his greater exposure raises his death rate from these diseases, while in pulmonary and tubercular affections his mortality rate is double that of the white man.

The returns from Charleston, which I have obtained access to, tally with those just given for our own city. In a table before me, giving the comparative mortality of the two races for the last decade, the figures show that the colored mortality is just about double that of the white. In the returns of deaths from consumption for the last five years, the colored death rate is nearly tripple that of the white.\*

The last Report of the Board of Health of the City of Richmond, Va., gives a number of valuable tables, showing the diseases most prevalent, and the relative death rates of the two races since 1880, which is in favor of the whites,

\*Through the courtesy of Dr. H. B. Horibeck, City Registrar and Secretary, I have obtained the Annual Reports of the Department of Health of the City of Charleston for the years 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, and 1886. From this last report I find this table of comparative mortality for the years 1877 to 1886 inclusive :

*Comparative Mortality.*

Years.	Whites.			Blacks and Colored.		
	Population.	Number of Deaths.	Proportion of Deaths.	Population.	Number of Deaths.	Proportion of Deaths.
1886.....	27,605	571	1 in 48	32,540	1,596	1 in 20
1885.....	27,605	487	1 in 56	32,540	1,250	1 in 26
1884.....	25,000	592	1 in 42	27,286	1,215	1 in 22
1883.....	25,000	540	1 in 46	27,286	1,286	1 in 21
1882.....	25,000	554	1 in 45	27,286	1,172	1 in 23
1881.....	22,713	651	1 in 34	27,286	1,292	1 in 21
1880.....	22,713	500	1 in 45	27,296	1,121	1 in 24
1879.....	22,713	517	1 in 43	27,286	1,075	1 in 25
1878.....	22,713	514	1 in 47	32,012	1,125	1 in 28
1877.....	24,528	555	1 in 44	32,012	1,258	1 in 25

Looking to consumption as a cause of death, I have prepared the following table from the mortuary returns of the five Annual Reports in my possession :

Years.	Whites.			Blacks and Colored.		
	Population.	Number of Deaths from Consumption.	Proportion of Deaths.	Population.	Number of Deaths from Consumption.	Proportion of Deaths.
1881.....	22,713	60	1 in 378	27,286	192	1 in 142
1882.....	25,000	72	1 in 347	27,286	206	1 in 131
1883.....	25,000	63	1 in 396	27,286	203	1 in 134
1884.....	25,000	58	1 in 431	27,286	212	1 in 128
1886.....	27,605	59	1 in 467	32,540	202	1 in 161

though the disparity is not so great as with us and Charleston; it may be roughly estimated as 2 to 3.\*

In the Biennial Report of the Board of Health of the State of Louisiana for the years 1884 and 1885 I find a table giving the comparative monthly mortality of the two races in New Orleans from 1880 to 1885 inclusive. This is decidedly against the colored; the average ratios of mortality per 1000 for these five years are 25.02 for the whites and 40.85 for the colored. In the mortality from consumption for the years 1884 and 1885 I find that the colored death rate is more than double that of the white. New Orleans, which has a poor reputation for health, might seem on first thought better adapted to the colored race, but the mortuary reports show that the white man stands it much better than the negro.†

\* Table showing the number of deaths of the two races from 1880 to 1886 inclusive :

1880		1881		1882		1883		1884		1885		1886	
Deaths Among the Whites.		Deaths Among the Colored.		Deaths Among the Whites.		Deaths Among the Colored.		Deaths Among the Whites.		Deaths Among the Colored.		Deaths Among the Whites.	
741	1,009	865	1,184	792	1,061	777	1,062	826	1,078	870	973	829	958

This is an abbreviated table from one on p. 48 of the Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Richmond, Va., for the year 1886. In it is given the number of deaths for each month. The population of Richmond is put down at 100,000, 56,000 whites, and 44,000 colored. These figures show that in proportion to the population two whites die to three colored.

As to the relative frequency of consumption in the two races I have only the figures for the year 1886: 95 deaths among the whites, and 141 deaths among the colored. Here again the colored death rate from this disease is more than double that of the white. I am indebted to Dr. T. E. Stratton, President of the Board of Health, for these figures.

† A very comprehensive table gives the number of deaths, white and colored, which have occurred in New Orleans during the past six years. The total number of deaths among the whites during this time was 24,589, and for the colored 14,708, the average white population being 163,788, and the average colored population 59,997. This gives 25.02 as the white ratio of mortality and 40.85 as the colored ratio of mortality.

Under phthisis pulmonalis they give for these two years 1,083 deaths among the whites and 821 deaths among the colored, the ratio per 1,000 being about 6.4 for the



It is from the State of Tennessee that I have obtained the fullest information as to this comparative mortality, and all the reports show this high negro mortality. In the city of Memphis in the last five years we find the colored mortality fully double that of the white, while from consumption more than twice as many colored as whites die. The returns from Nashville, Chattanooga, and Knoxville coincide closely with the above figures.\*

whites, and 13.2 for the colored. These figures tally with Savannah's record. I am indebted to Dr. W. H. Watkins, Chief Sanitary Inspector, for this Biennial Report.

\*Through the courtesy of Dr. G. B. Thornton, President of the Board of Health of Memphis, and Dr. J. Berrien Lindsey, Secretary and Executive officer of the State Board of Health of Tennessee, I have obtained full information as to the sanitary conditions and the comparative mortality of the two races in Tennessee. From the material furnished me I have prepared the following table, giving a comparative statement of the death rates of the two races in the city of Memphis for the last seven years:

Year.	Total Deaths.		Death rate per 1,000 population.	
	White.	Color'd	White.	Colored.
1886.....	676	749	16.81	33.89
1885.....	666	818	16.56	36.96
1884.....	756	921	18.80	41.66
1883.....	610	793	15.19	35.83
1882.....	480	701	14.85	39.45
1881.....	665	806	30.22	44.26
1880.....	491	563	14.44	16.55

The following table shows the large excess of deaths from consumption among the colored in the same city:

Year.	Population.		Number of Deaths from Consumption.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
1886.....	40,207	22,128	92	144
1885.....	40,207	22,128	102	123
1884.....	40,207	22,128	96	127
1883.....	40,207	22,128	72	134
1882.....	28,273	17,741	52	107

From Chattanooga I have only complete returns for two years. These again are decidedly in favor of the whites.

1883—Death rate per 1,000 among the whites.....	20.7
“ “ “ “ colored.....	37.0
1884— “ “ “ “ whites.....	14.7
“ “ “ “ colored.....	27.7

The following table gives a comparative statement of the death rate of Nashville for the years 1875 to 1884 inclusive:

Returns from Columbus and Atlanta, in this State, tell the same story. Returns from Mobile, Ala., from January, 1882, to December, 1886, are the only ones which do not give this high colored mortality. Here, although the figures are in favor of the whites, the disparity is by no means so great.\*

	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.
White..	25.78	26.31	21.82	17.43	20.26	19.98	20.63	17.82	18.68	16.77
Colored.	49.69	45.35	38.72	33.50	35.92	36.47	32.87	35.50	31.29	26.94
Total..	34.55	33.25	27.80	23.11	25.80	25.53	25.27	24.11	23.50	21.94

\* Through the kindness of Dr. Carlisle Terry, of Columbus, Ga., I have obtained the returns of that city for the last three years, which show a colored mortality double that of the white.

Dr. Jas. B. Baird, Secretary of the Board of Health of the city of Atlanta, has kindly furnished me with the mortuary tables of that city for the last seven years. These are the figures :

Year.	Total Annual Death Rate.	White.	Colored.
1880.....	17.08	13.00	28.06
1881.....	24.66	19.22	31.70
1882.....	21.00	13.84	31.70
1883.....	21.74	14.86	32.80
1884.....	21.33	13.84	38.52
1885.....	20.23	13.06	31.26
1886.....	14.86	10.10	23.71

These figures give an average annual death rate of 13.91 for the whites, and 29.54 for the colored. Turning to the principal causes of death, consumption, pneumonia and other acute lung diseases, we find the following figures for the year 1886 :

Consumption—Number of deaths among the whites.....	49
“                  “                  “                  colored.....	70
Pneumonia—                  “                  “                  whites.....	24
“                  “                  colored.....	57
Other acute lung diseases.—Whites.....	9
Colored.....	16

Estimating the population at 60,000, whites 39,000, colored 21,000, we find the colored more than three times as susceptible as the whites to these diseases.

Through the courtesy of Dr. T. S. Scales, Health Officer of Mobile, Ala., I have been furnished with the monthly statements of mortality from January, 1882, to December, 1886, inclusive. From these statements I have compiled the following table, giving the comparative mortality of the two races for these years. This table shows that in Mobile the disparity between the whites and colored as to mortality is not so great as elsewhere:

Year.	Annual Death Rate per 1,000.	
	Whites.	Colored.
1882.....	32.4	29.0
1883.....	33.5	28.2
1884.....	29.6	24.1
1885.....	28.9	33.0
1886.....	27.4	37.3

These statistics are dry things to read, and drier things to listen to, so that I shall reserve whatever details I have collected for those who may desire to look more closely into this subject. I think I have brought forward sufficient evidence, however, to prove to you that our mortuary records give abundant proof of this physical degeneracy of the colored race. They show a terrible waste of ante-natal life, a high infant mortality, and a high death rate even in malarial and miasmatic diseases from which the negro was once largely exempt.

I know of no more significant fact, as pointing to the future of the race, and this future is what, as I have attempted to show, ethnology and biology would lead us to expect. Within the white race we can watch the cyclic movements showing the rise of the sturdy element of the lower classes to the higher, and again the fall of the higher to the lower. Like the plant the vitality of the race is expended in the flower, and it must start from the ground again before rising to higher things. But in the conflict between the white race and an inferior and alien race the movement becomes a different one. Here it is a process of assimilation where that which is non-assimilable and perishable dies while that which has stability and is assimilable is absorbed and moulded to its new conditions, in short lost in the main growth. While during slavery this process was greatly retarded, emancipation has opened the flood-gates and the struggle really begins. The loss of life will be great indeed.

"Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they  
grind exceeding small."

America, though in a measure the Botany Bay of the world, is the arena for a new leap in civilization. It is the land of the Caucasian. However large our colored element may be, as a distinct race it can only reach a certain point. By the processes I have sketched out it must become Caucasianized, Americanized, or drop out of the struggle. That the colored race will so increase in the future as to threaten this country, or even our portion of it, I can see no evidence. There are weightier social and political problems before us to-day than the poor negro,

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These figures have been deduced from the census of 1880, which gives a population of 31,295, whites 16,927, colored 14,368, so that they are only approximately correct.



depend upon it. We need hardly worry ourselves about colonization, or any remedial measures outside of those incumbent upon every State to make its people useful and intelligent citizens. The negro to-day has his place in this country and he has his usefulness. Here to us his sudden disappearance would prove a great loss, to say the least, and we may well consider methods of improving him rather than trouble ourselves about getting rid of him. Despite certain writers to the contrary the South has a bright future before it. The last decade has accomplished much towards developing its vast resources and offering attractions for a good element of immigration. I doubt if there is a thoughtful person among us who does not firmly believe in this bright future.

The great forces at work and their ultimate issue which I have attempted to indicate may be roughly portrayed and epitomized by a simile. Imagine a crystal lake fed by many clear streams from all the points of the compass, bearing waters as varied as the regions through which they flow. Suddenly from the southward gushes a muddy stream which empties into the lake soon to exhaust itself. At first, for some distance out on its surface we can see a distinct line of demarcation between the clear and the muddy. Gradually by a process of diffusion and precipitation this division line becomes less and less distinct, the muddy shading off into the clear, until finally the lake is left in its original clearness; and our eyes wandering over its surface fail to detect any cloudiness in its clear and translucent depths.

